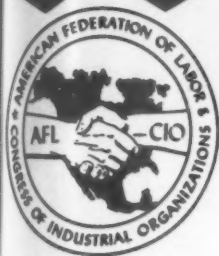


AFL CIO



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MAY 1957
TWENTY CENTS

FEDERATIONIST

LABOR'S MAGAZINE

UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

SEP 12 1957

PERIODICAL
READING ROOM



PRESS CONFERENCE

Reporters gathered at AFL-CIO Building in Washington taking down the words of President Meany after Executive Council suspended Dave Beck. Story on Page 6.

READ

THE UNION IS OUR PROTECTION

by Walter Pidgeon

Unions Must Be Secure

by George M. Leader
GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA



YOUR UNION IS WHAT YOU MAKE IT

ARE YOU meticulous about fulfilling your obligations as a trade unionist? To be a good trade unionist one must be a good citizen first—and a good citizen does not neglect his obligations. Now is the time to resolve that you will do your share to strengthen your union. Take a genuine interest in its affairs. Study its problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend meetings regularly. It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of consistent attendance at your union's meetings. It's at the meetings that you get your chance to take part in shaping the policies of your union. Almost all of us want our unions to be clean and thoroughly democratic. It's up to us—and no one else—to make sure that our unions always have those qualities. And that means that we have an inescapable duty to turn out for meetings. Your union will be the kind of union you want it to be—if you always do your part. So attend your union meetings and make your contribution to the proceedings.



Pay attention to what your union is doing

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FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

MAY, 1957

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 64, No. 5

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Respect for the Law

I know the American people are much attached to their government. I know they would suffer much for its sake. I know they would endure evils long and patiently before they would ever think of exchanging it for another. Yet, notwithstanding all this, if the laws be continually despised and disregarded, if their rights to be secure in their persons and property are held by no better tenure than the caprice of a mob, the alienation of their affections from the government is the natural consequence; and to that, sooner or later, it must come.

Here then is one point at which danger may be expected. The question recurs, "How shall we fortify against it?" The answer is simple.

Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country and never to tolerate their violation by others.

As the patriots of '76 did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his property and his sacred honor. Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty.

Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in schools, in seminaries and in colleges. Let it be written in primers, spelling books and almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls and enforced in courts of justice.

When I so pressingly urge a strict observance of all the laws, let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, or that grievances may not arise for the redress of which no legal provisions have been made. I mean to say no such thing.

But I do mean to say that, although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still, while they continue in force, for the sake of example they should be religiously observed.

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.

Abraham Lincoln, 1837.

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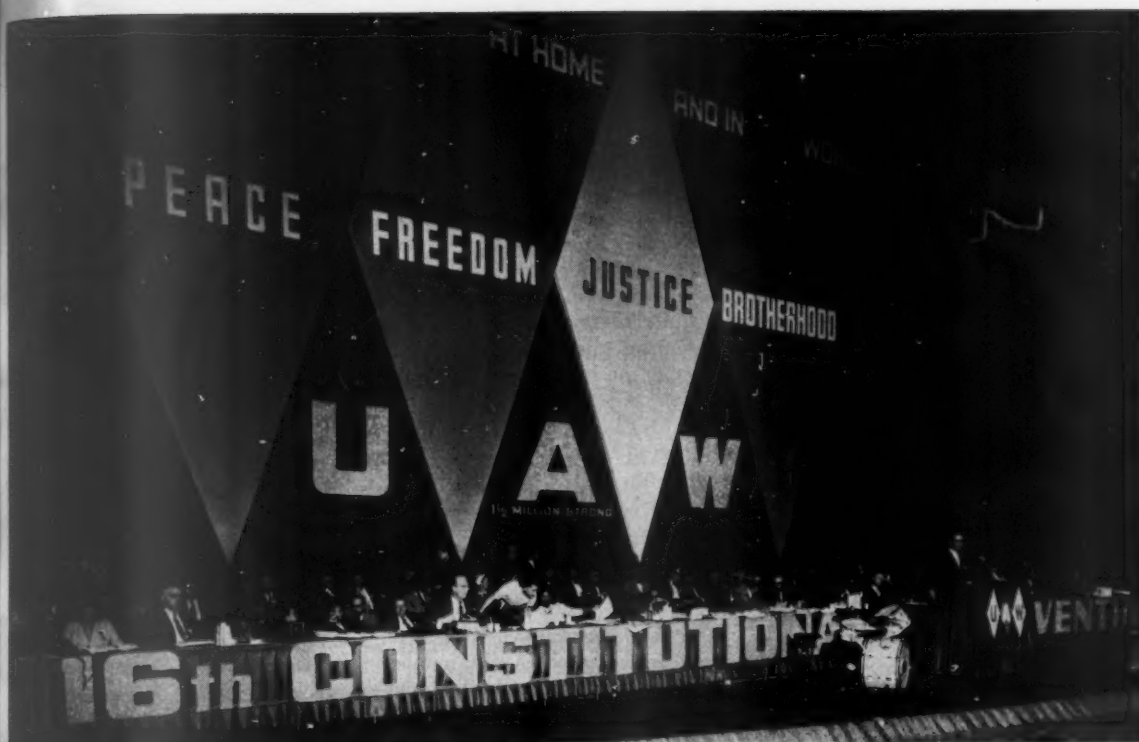




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The platform at the Atlantic City convention. The union, once weak, is now one of the largest in the land.

The UAW Moves Forward Again

By HENRY C. FLEISHER

TEN, fifteen and twenty years ago, the conventions of the United Auto Workers—a lusty union product of the depression—were famed for their turbulence, their factional battles and their lusty debate.

Today the United Auto Workers have grown into one of the nation's largest unions—with a roster of nearly a million and a half members. Much of the turbulence and internal fighting that marked the UAW's early years has disappeared. But the UAW's biennial sessions retain their lusty vigor, an emphasis on "talking out the issues" and a good-natured



George Meany waves to the convention as badge is pinned on him by chief of United Auto Workers.

refusal to be overawed by the authority of the chair, while at the same time maintaining a high degree of self-discipline.

The delegates talk — plenty. Listening to a whole series of statements from rank-and-filers on the question of raising the dues by fifty cents a month, one reporter from a conservative newspaper remarked:

"Each one of them talks better than the one before. As a matter of fact, this convention seems to be full of orators named Cicero."

Obviously, few if any of the 3,000 delegates who attended the UAW's convention at Atlantic City in early April match up to the oratorical standards of the ancient Roman senator. But there can be no doubt that the UAW tackled a host of big problems, with very considerable dispatch.

Perhaps the most notable break with precedent was the creation of a public review board, comprising seven prominent citizens, to help the union protect itself from the infiltration of corrupters, and to insure that the rights of individual union members are scrupulously observed. It will have power to hear appeals of

members against union disciplinary action and to deal with charges of violations of the ethical practices codes.

Named to that board were three distinguished clergymen, the chancellor of a large state university, a veteran liberal professor and a Michigan judge. President Milton Eisenhower, head of Johns Hopkins University and brother of the President, expressed great interest in the project but noted regretfully that a number of other commitments prevented him from serving on the board.

THE review board was one major aspect of a continuously expressed belief by the convention that organized labor and its leaders must move quickly and energetically to clean out corrupt, racketeering forces from our movement.

That concept was expressed in a strongly worded ethical practices resolution, in the speeches of a number of delegates and, most notably, in addresses by UAW President Walter P. Reuther and AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Both these leaders of labor expressed admiration for the work of the other;



Walter P. Reuther lashed out at crooks in business and labor. He was named to another term.

and each in his own way made clear that labor could make no compromise with corruption.

The "main reason," Mr. Meany said, that labor opposes corruption in

On the convention floor. Here the delegates are listening, but UAW delegates are never hesitant about talking up.



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our unions is "not just because it is bad for the labor movement, but primarily because it is wrong."

And, the AFL-CIO president went on, the issue must be met "head on, without evasion and with no attempt to sweep it under the rug." The AFL-CIO, he said, will fight corruption in big unions and small; it will move against corruption when it finds it, without regard to whether or not the government has brought indictments.

For this, he pointed out, is "our responsibility" and "our job."

Without ever referring to President Dave Beck of the Teamsters by name, Mr. Meany made amply clear that practices of the sort uncovered by the McClellan committee have no place in his book of labor leadership. Borrowing funds, secretly and without interest, from a union; buying property as an individual and selling it to the union at an exorbitant profit; taking the Fifth Amendment as a shield against personal corruption in union office—all of these, President Meany indicated, cannot be tolerated on the part of union officials.

Nor, the AFL-CIO president said, can he accept the theory that, because the members are making good pay, they will tolerate any corruption on the part of their officers.

"I have a much higher concept of the intelligence of the American worker than that," Mr. Meany snapped.

WALTER REUTHER—only nine years ago the target of an underworld attack that nearly took his life—spoke out in much the same tone.

Labor, said the UAW leader, "had better roll up its sleeves and take on the job of cleaning its own house from top to bottom, to drive out every crook and gangster and racketeer it finds—because if we don't clean out our own house, the reactionaries will clean it for us. But they won't use a broom, they'll use an axe—and they'll try to destroy the labor movement in the process."

The UAW is not perfect, he concluded, but "we are clean—and we are going to work and fight to keep our union clean and democratic."

To both speakers the delegates gave a rousing ovation and clear indication that their words had been well and thoughtfully received.

Important as it looms in the present period, corruption is not the only issue that faces labor today. The UAW



Al Hayes, chairman of AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, gets a warm welcome from UAW's chief. Mr. Hayes addressed the conclave.

adopted a series of programs and policy statements looking toward a better life for the auto workers and a better America for all the people.

When negotiations open with the big auto manufacturers next year, the convention decided, the UAW will demand not only a shorter workweek but additional take-home pay. The productivity of industry, together with the growing use of automatic machinery and the need for greater purchasing power to maintain a prosperous economy, clearly points the way—in the union's view—to substantial gains for the workers.

The union voiced its concern about the spiraling profits of big corporations and the blame which has been unfairly lodged against labor's wage increases as an alleged cause of inflation. Congress, the union said, should undertake a serious study of the wage-price-profit relationship so that the true situation may be known.

In both his report to the convention and in his opening address, Mr. Reuther emphasized his belief that labor's gains in America can be preserved only so long as peace is preserved in the world.

"There is no defense against the H-bomb except universal peace," the UAW president declared. Humanity, he said, cannot live in tunnels and dugouts in a world flooded with H-bomb radiation—for in such an event

our civilization, with all of its values, would be eradicated.

It was in the context of this range of problems that the convention met and worked—an atmosphere typified by the convention's slogan: "Peace—Freedom—Justice—Brotherhood."

And it was in that context that the convention—by motion of the rank-and-file delegates and with great enthusiasm—conferred honorary life membership on two great ladies, two outstanding citizens of the free world: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the fighter for peace and freedom for all people; Miss Marian Anderson, the singer, who has dedicated her tremendous talent to the cause of justice and brotherhood for all mankind.

A dollar for

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President George Meany was in the chair at special meeting which took action on Beck.

Executive Council Suspends Dave Beck

THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL voted unanimously March 29, at a special meeting held in the AFL-CIO Building in Washington, to suspend Dave Beck as a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and member of the Executive Council. The decision was announced by AFL-CIO President George Meany, who had called the special meeting immediately after Beck, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, invoked the Fifth Amendment before the Senate Select Committee on Improper Practices in the Labor or Management Field. Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas is the chairman of the committee.

Moving forcefully to root out corruption in American labor, the Executive Council also decided to file charges of "malfeasance" and "maladministration" against Beck—also in his capacity as an AFL-CIO vice-president—and to give him a hearing May 20. In addition, the Council directed the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee to launch an immediate investigation of

charges against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to determine whether that union is "substantially dominated or controlled by corrupt influences."

The Executive Council's decisions came on unanimous votes of the twenty-one members in attendance at the special session. Beck himself did not attend the meeting. He had flown from Washington to Seattle the previous day. Although informed March 26, at the Senate hearing, of the call for the special meeting, Beck claimed he had not had sufficient notice. Not many hours after the Executive Council adjourned its special gathering, Beck again flew back to Washington from Seattle.

At a news conference following the Council's session, President Meany said that the Ethical Practices Committee investigation of the Teamsters, like previous probes conducted by that committee, would study "all phases of the activities of the Teamsters Union and all of the activities

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of its officers." Al Hayes, committee chairman, immediately called the group together for a brief session to plan its work.

The decision to file charges against Beck was based, President Meany said, on "his actions in bringing the labor movement into disrepute and his failure to explain the many charges against him regarding the mishandling of Teamster union funds."

After the May 20 hearing, the Executive Council will adopt its findings on Beck, and they will be incorporated in the Council's report to the AFL-CIO's next convention.

Last January the Council voted a policy resolution calling for cooperation with government and public agencies seeking to expose corruption. While reaffirming the right of an individual to use the traditional safeguards of the Fifth Amendment to protect himself from incrimination, the AFL-CIO said that no union officer has the right—in the context of his union duties, obligations and responsibilities—to use the Fifth Amendment as a shield "against proper scrutiny into corrupt influences in the labor movement."

Ignoring official AFL-CIO policy, Beck invoked Fifth Amendment repeatedly at the Senate hearing.



Unions Must Be Secure

*'Wreck' laws are a step back toward feudalism,
says the Governor of the Keystone State.
When a union lacks security, he points out,
it cannot bargain effectively with the employer.*

By **GEORGE M. LEADER**

GOOD trade unions and good governments have this in common: They don't just happen. You don't get them the easy way, because there is no easy way. You buy them with guts, with integrity, with patience, with idealism harnessed to horse sense.

Even after you win, you keep your guard up and your fists doubled, because someone's waiting to swing at you the moment you relax.

Some people seem to have forgotten the codes of ethical practices adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Some people have forgotten that the Executive Council has stated explicitly the affirmative responsibility of unions to keep their own house in order. Some people have forgotten the code which relates to the administration of health and welfare funds and which seeks to insure that these funds will be administered honestly and responsibly.

And, finally, some people seem to have forgotten the code dealing with possible conflicts of interest between a union officer's responsibility and his private investments.

This isn't surprising. The public memory is notoriously short and it tends to accentuate the negative, rather than the positive.

And so, instead of remembering that America's mature and responsible labor movement is already taking effective measures to police its own ranks, all too many newspaper readers, radio listeners and television viewers are pointing the finger at a single element of labor's mighty army and damning — by association — all the rest.

It does no good to remark that

this is unfair; nor does it help to point out that only a handful of union officials fail to discharge, with integrity and honor, the trust reposed in them.

Only the passage of time can adjust the mass perspective, can restore clear vision to those whose sight has been blurred by the unpleasant disclosures of recent weeks.

Meanwhile, these are troubled days. Government, in response to public pressure from labor's foes and even some of labor's friends, is besieged with schemes to regulate and control the union structure.

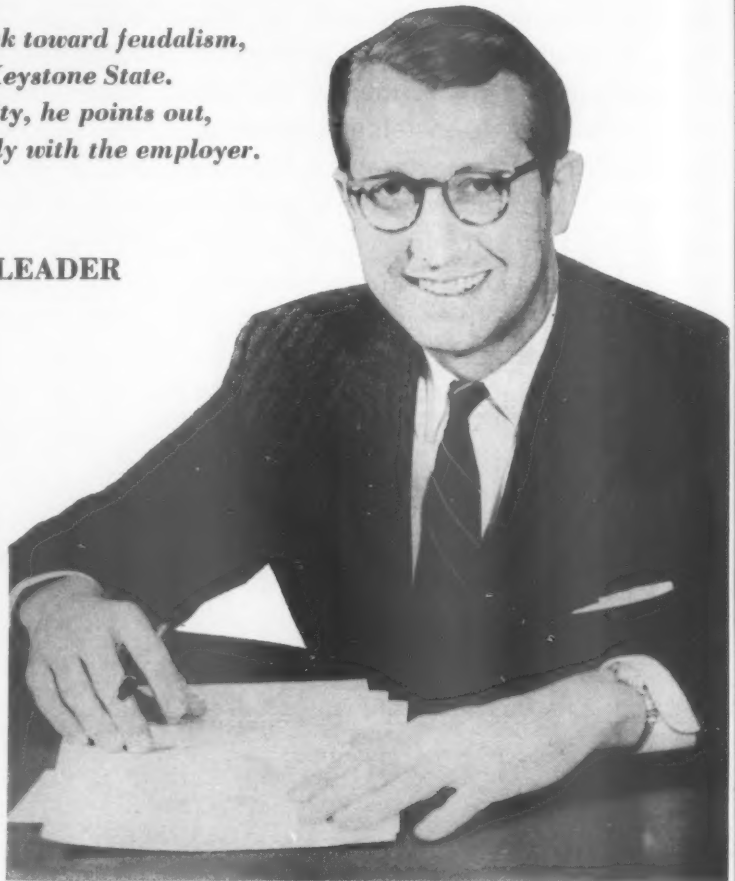
This is the great danger facing labor. The vast majority of America's unions need fear no appraisal or fair investigation from any source. By the same token, there is no reason to expect that the investigations will multiply so long as labor hews to the

line of its own established policy by rooting out the transgressors, keeping its own house clean and exercising the perpetual vigilance so necessary to its trust.

The danger, as I see it, is in any governmental attempt to control the structure of unions. For, in addition to anti-labor pressures, government must often contend with those well-meaning but misguided individuals who would burn down the house to cook the pig.

AS FOR those who fear labor and would destroy the trade union movement, they realize that the present climate of emotional thinking offers the opportunity of a lifetime.

This is their technique, as I see it: Realizing that as a practical policy it is impossible to make a direct, frontal attack on trade unionism it



GOVERNOR LEADER

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self, labor's foes will direct their fire against union leadership, hoping to drive a wedge between the rank-and-file and officers.

If they are successful, the erosion of collective bargaining would be a short step away. And from then on, "right to work" legislation and similar punitive laws would roll back labor's hard-won gains of the past half-century.

I have already seen evidence of this technique. Four bills have already been introduced in the Pennsylvania Legislature which are, I think, in the nature of weather balloons sent up to test the climate of governmental thinking.

Should the climate permit, I have little doubt that this or the next session of the Legislature will see the introduction of a "right to work" bill.

I KNOW that the readers of this magazine have not forgotten what happened in Indiana. Neither have I. Nor have I forgotten the promise I made when I took office.

Let me say this:

"Right to work" will not happen in Pennsylvania. And that doesn't mean that I'll pass the buck to the Legislature and simply refuse to sign the bill into law.

That means I will veto!

The same thing applies to any other piece of legislation, punitive in intent, designed to weaken the structure of collective bargaining or aimed at setting management against labor or labor against management.

So Indiana's tragedy will not be Pennsylvania's—at least for nineteen months.

As Governor of Pennsylvania, my stand on union-busting legislation of any kind is one of unmovable opposition. My feelings are particularly strong about that piece of thinking the anti-union wordmasters have labeled "right to work" legislation.

The master-stroke of all anti-union literature was written into the notorious Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Here's how the section reads:

"Nothing in this act shall be construed as authorizing the execution and application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any state or territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by state or territorial law."

On the strength of those forty-four words a number of state legislatures have foisted upon their constituents some of the most vicious anti-labor legislation ever conceived.

The past forty years have seen America rise to a tremendous and

powerful industrial maturity. It is logical—and fortunate—that we arrived at this powerful economic state with built-in balances of power—just as the democratic forms of government have their built-in balances.

The balance in the case of industrial and economic growth has been a healthy growth of administrative and bargaining skills within the labor movement. This growth matches the technological and managerial growth of industrial operators.

Through the hard and demanding crucible of the democratic processes, starting with the Wagner Act, both labor and management acquired a workable—though admittedly not a perfect—set of ground rules.

BUT seeded carefully into the subsequent Taft-Hartley Act were the elements of union destruction. In some places the destruction is already under way. In others, more thoughtful legislators and administrators have spotted the dangerous principle of Section 14 (b) and rejected its insidious insinuations.

I have read Section 14 (b) again and again. Each time I read it I visualize new threats to industrial progress and union-management harmony.

No forty-four words ever written contain any (*Continued on Page 28*)

Profit-hungry employers used to exploit child labor. Those ugly days could be brought back by anti-labor laws.



I SAW GHANA BORN

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

AFL-CIO Vice-President Randolph was designated by President George Meany to represent the AFL-CIO at the recent celebration of the independence of Ghana. He wrote this article upon his return.

AS THE special representative of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, it was my pleasure and honor to present a personal message from President George Meany to the Prime Minister of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah. He was visibly touched and appreciative of this gesture of goodwill and friendship from the most powerful labor movement in the world.

Verily, the fact that American labor had representation at this epoch-making celebration of the independence of a new African nation was a stroke of the highest statesmanship and political wisdom.

It augurs well for the future friendly relations between the American and African workers.

Prior to the great demonstration of the independence of Ghana, recognizing the importance of Africa as a strategic force in the great struggle for human freedom against the slavery of communism, the AFL-CIO sent representatives, including Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler, Vice-President Emil Rieve and Maida Springer, business representative of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, to participate in the Accra conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Mrs. Springer remained in Africa following the end of the conference and has served the cause of free trade unionism effectively in making constructive contacts with African leaders of labor and the rank and file workers.

In these troubled times, when the world is divided into two major camps, democracy and communism, this gesture of homage, honor and respect by the American labor movement for the statehood of Ghana is



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

immensely important and of far-reaching significance to the free world. This is sowing the seed of democracy and human dignity in the fertile soil of the good neighbor, and it will bear good fruit.

And President Eisenhower is to be congratulated upon his broad vision and sound political strategy in sending the Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, second in command of our government, as the special representative of the United States to carry the blessings and respect of the American government and people to the leaders of Ghana and its people.

Be it said to the credit of Vice-President Nixon that with his genial, friendly and cooperative manner he made an effective and impressive ambassador of goodwill for the United States, completely overshadowing the emissaries of the Soviet Union.

It is an understatement to point out that the American government and

the American labor movement will do well to keep an eye on Africa as she goes through the labor and pains and struggles of the revolutions of nationalism in her irresistible march toward independence and freedom.

As an evidence of the significance the great power nations of the world place upon this hour of awakening of the broad masses of the African people, some fifty-eight governments sent delegations to Ghana.

And, of course, ever alert to strengthen the foreign policy of the Kremlin in pursuit of its goal of worldwide conquest, the Soviet Union was represented. A Russian delegation not only came to the celebration of the independence of Ghana but remained behind after most of the delegations had left to proffer an invitation to the leaders of Ghana to visit Moscow.

Happily, Prime Minister Nkrumah has already indicated his concern and displeasure with any leaders of labor of Ghana forming alliances with Communist-dominated movements of labor. In fact, he has a record of membership in the National Maritime Union of the AFL-CIO, which speaks volumes for the vision and common sense of the leader of the first African government south of the Sahara Desert.

SINCE Ghana, now free and independent, is not free of problems which will beset and plague it, one of the most difficult and insistent of which is broadening the base of its economy, the American trade union movement may be helpful in recommending and urging and pointing out the political value and sound strategy of the United States government lending a helping hand in the development of the Volta River hydroelectric alu-

minum smelting project. The building of this dam will free the economy of Ghana from dependence upon the single crop system of cocoa and provide the foundation for the diversification of the economy—a promise of greater security.

It is a great tribute to the common sense and sound judgment of the new leaders of Ghana that they have effected national unity of the Gold Coast in the face of the tribal traditionalism of the Ashanti and Northern territories, which stubbornly resisted the encroachments of political, industrial and commercial modernism.

The old African chiefs vigorously opposed the centralization of governmental powers in Accra, and demanded and fought for their regional independence.

And, of course, Britain supported the position of the chiefs as a means of thwarting and blocking the march of the African nationalist revolutions.

But the tide toward the new order was definitely turned when, under the inspiration and leadership of Nkrumah, boycotts and strikes swept the colony in 1947. While Nkrumah and some of his co-workers were lodged in jail in 1951, a new constitution introducing an elective government was adopted.

And when the first general elections were held, the Convention Peoples' Party was victorious in the country, which resulted in releasing Nkrumah from prison and making him the head of the government.

In 1953 the constitution was further reformed to provide for an all-African cabinet, as well as legislative assembly, chosen by direct election. British civil servants continued to work in various government departments but under African ministers.

Fortunately, the struggle against colonialism has left no scars of racial bitterness and hatred against the British in particular or white people in general. This is an important and significant lesson for imperialist colonial rulers and white settlers in other colonies in which Africans are certain soon to strike a blow for independence and freedom.

It is the obligation and responsibility of the AFL-CIO to help make Ghana work by friendly cooperation and goodwill. For if the independent Gold Coast government should fail, it could be a staggering blow to the rest of Africa, Europe and the United

States, but a boon to Russian communism which thrives on chaos and confusion, frustration and social despair, which would inevitably follow the collapse of a free Ghana.

Today the Soviet Union has no official installation in the form of embassy or consulate anywhere in North Africa, nor on the West Coast of Africa, with the exception of a satellite consulate in Leopoldville. The only points in Africa where the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic posts are in Cairo, Addis Ababa and Pictoria. Nor is there any Communist Party on an important scale anywhere in Africa except in Algeria, Tunisia and French West Africa.

But with the continent-wide awakening of the African masses on the march toward independence and free-

dom, the high command of the Kremlin will, without a doubt, move to capture and direct the revolutions of African nationalism.

To this end communism will attempt to infiltrate the African liberation movements in order to control or subvert them and thereby seek to win their mind and allegiance, the first step in conquering the masses of people and capturing the state.

This is the grave and emergency problem which confronts free labor and the free world. This is why Ghana is so strategic in the worldwide warfare between democracy and communism.

Now that a free and independent Ghana is a reality, the fires of freedom and independence are certain to spread to other African colonies.

Budget Hysteria

By HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER

WELL, the "economy" hysteria continues. And with it there are both ludicrous and tragic results. A quick look at what happened to the budget for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare during the past month will point up the problem.

As reported in the April issue of the *FEDERATIONIST*, the total budget requests for both these vital departments came to about \$3 billion—only five per cent of the entire \$72 billion budget. The House Appropriations Subcommittee headed by Representative John Fogarty of Rhode Island reported out a bill cutting about \$118,000,000 from the President's budget request. About two-thirds of this cut was in the allocation for public assistance—which reflected merely the committee's judgment that the needs would be less than originally figured.

On the whole, the bill reflected the President's wishes. After months of the most painstaking kind of hearings and study, the Fogarty Committee had decided that the budget could not be cut any more.

On March 26 the bill hit the House floor. At once the "economy" bloc was at work. Backed by a decision

of the Republican caucus, and supported by several dozen Southern Democrats, this bloc was determined to cut every possible item. More than twenty separate amendments were offered by this bloc to cut down specific items in the bill. And each time, it was Democrat John Fogarty who led the fight to defeat the cuts.

For three straight days, the Labor Department budget was slashed over and over again—and not a single Republican ever got up to defend the budget submitted by a Republican President and endorsed by a Republican Secretary of Labor.

Fogarty pleaded with his colleagues across the aisle to support the President.

"If I had twenty-five modern Republicans with me, I could save this budget," he insisted.

In the course of the House consideration, Secretary Mitchell held a press conference and expressed warm appreciation for Fogarty's efforts. But there were no such words for any Republicans.

Asked about this at a press conference, President Eisenhower expressed general hope that his party followers would understand what lay behind the budget requests. But the

CUTS SUSTAINED BY HOUSE

Office of Solicitor.....	\$ 204,000
Office of Secretary.....	30,000
Bureau of Labor Standards.....	46,300
Bureau of Employment Security.....	442,000
Bureau of Labor Statistics.....	346,000
Mexican Farm Labor Program.....	263,800
Wage and Hour Division.....	288,000

CUTS RESTORED ON ROLLCALLS

Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights.....	\$ 136,000
Food and Drug Administration.....	1,327,000
Women's Bureau.....	31,000
Office of Education.....	1,482,000
Water Pollution.....	50,000,000

House slashing continued, and not once did the Republican House leaders ever take to the floor to defend the budget.

But one Republican did finally speak up—and he did it most eloquently. During debate on the Health, Education and Welfare items, a Republican member had referred slightly to Fogarty as a former bricklayer. (A fact of which Fogarty is very proud; he is president emeritus of a bricklayers' local union.)

Congressman Charles Wolvertson, New Jersey Republican, a member for more than thirty years, took the floor and paid glowing tribute to Fogarty. He expressed his disappointment at the blind way in which the House was cutting item after item—without any regard to the contents of the particular item. He summed it all up when he said:

"Let us get more bricklayers in the House."

In the box on this page, the reader will find a listing of the major actions of the House. Five cuts which were first approved on voice or teller votes were later restored on rollcall votes. (Thank goodness for rollcall votes!)

Major victim of the "economy" drive as it affected this particular bill was the American worker. Very little money was actually saved in the Labor Department cuts—about \$1.5 million—but these cuts are very serious to the programs involved.

► Cuts in the Office of the Solicitor and the Wage and Hour Division will mean inadequate enforcement of the

Minimum Wage Law, the Public Contracts Law and the Bacon-Davis Prevailing Wage Law.

► Cuts in the Bureau of Labor Standards will mean, among other things, no funds for special work in atomic radiation hazards.

► Cuts in the Bureau of Labor Statistics will mean no funds for improvement of the cost-of-living index or for work in studying the effects of automation.

► Cuts in the Mexican farm labor

BOOK NOTE

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT LABOR?

By James Myers and Harry W. Laidler.
301 pp. New York: John Day. \$4.75.

BETWEEN the covers of "What Do You Know About Labor?" you will find all the essential facts about organized labor—what it is and what it does. Beginning with a thumbnail history of organized labor in America and ending with a roster of trade unions in the United States, this handy book answers questions about labor that are most often asked today.

What is labor's attitude toward automation? What is the truth about the so-called "right to work" laws? What is the role of trade unions in the community services? What about profit sharing? Who's who and what's what in the AFL-CIO?

These questions and many others are answered by two outstanding students of labor. James Myers, the author of a number of books on labor problems, including the well-known volume "Do You Know Labor?", and

program will mean inadequate enforcement of the working conditions and housing conditions of hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers coming in under international agreement.

► Cuts in the Bureau of Employment Security will prevent planned activities for areas with chronic unemployment, for placement of older workers and for placement of handicapped workers.

► Cuts in the Office of the Secretary will disturb plans for improvement in international labor activities of the Labor Department.

In preliminary votes—prior to the recorded rollcalls—the "economy bloc" had approved cuts which would have seriously crippled the Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights, the Women's Bureau, the Food and Drug Administration, the Office of Education and the Water Pollution program of the Public Health Service.

None of the above need have happened—if the Administration had defended its own budget. Instead, the Secretary of the Treasury was permitted to set off a fear-mongering campaign against the President's own budget. The sorry spectacle described in this article is the payoff.

Let us hope that the hysteria will have calmed down by the time the Senate gets to the bill. The AFL-CIO will work to restore all of the cuts.

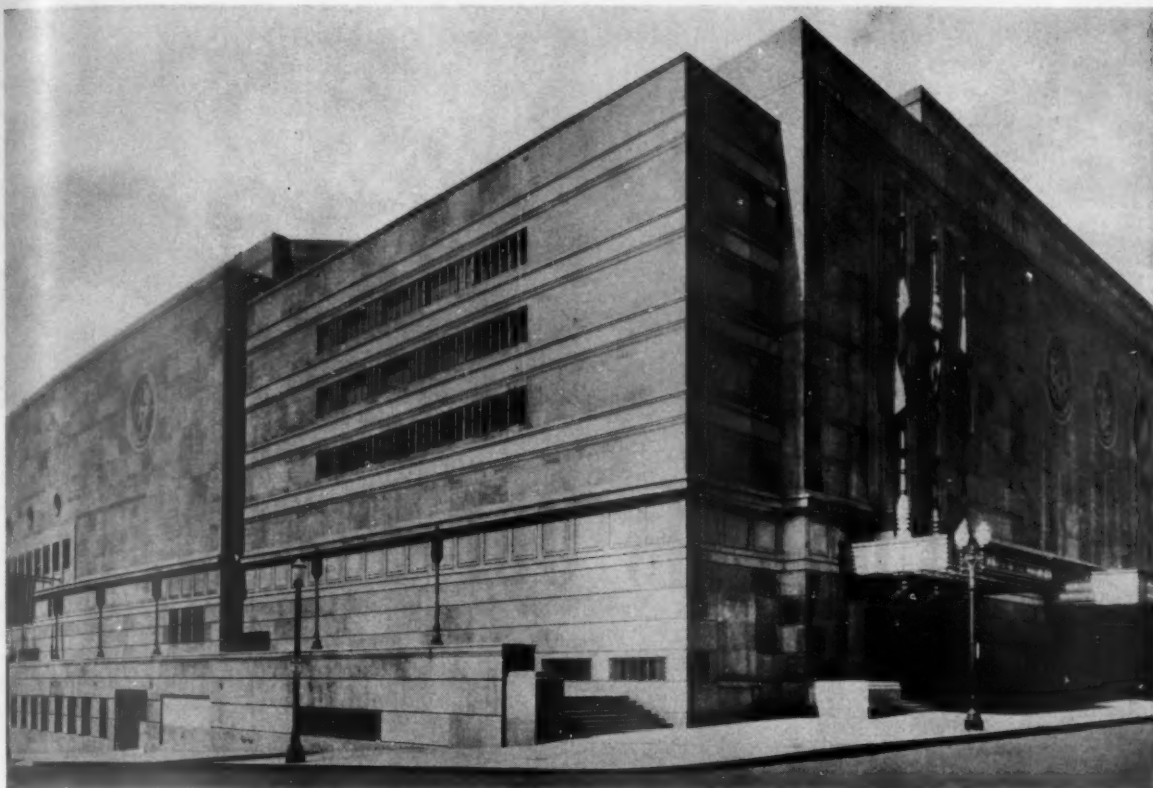
Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy and an outstanding teacher in economics, make up an excellent team to bring together and present in a simple, popularly written compendium the story of organized labor and an explanation of its programs, policies and activities.

Only too often one finds that compilations of this kind, including textbooks, have a marked touch of anti-union bias. In this case, however, the book is written objectively, but with sympathetic understanding of the problems of wage-earners who have banded into a movement over sixteen million strong, and of the unions through which they strive for better living and greater welfare in the whole community.

—Boris Shishkin.

**REGISTERED
TO VOTE?**

AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST



Modern Kansas City Municipal Auditorium will house mammoth exposition.

Opening Day Nears for Labor's Big Show

CURTAIN-RAISING TIME for the great 1957 edition of the AFL-CIO Union Industries Show is just around the corner. The mammoth labor-management exposition will get under way on May 16 and will run through May 21. The spacious Municipal Auditorium at Kansas City, Missouri, will be the scene of the exciting, colorful and educational show. The sponsor, as in past years, is the Union Label and Service Trades Department.

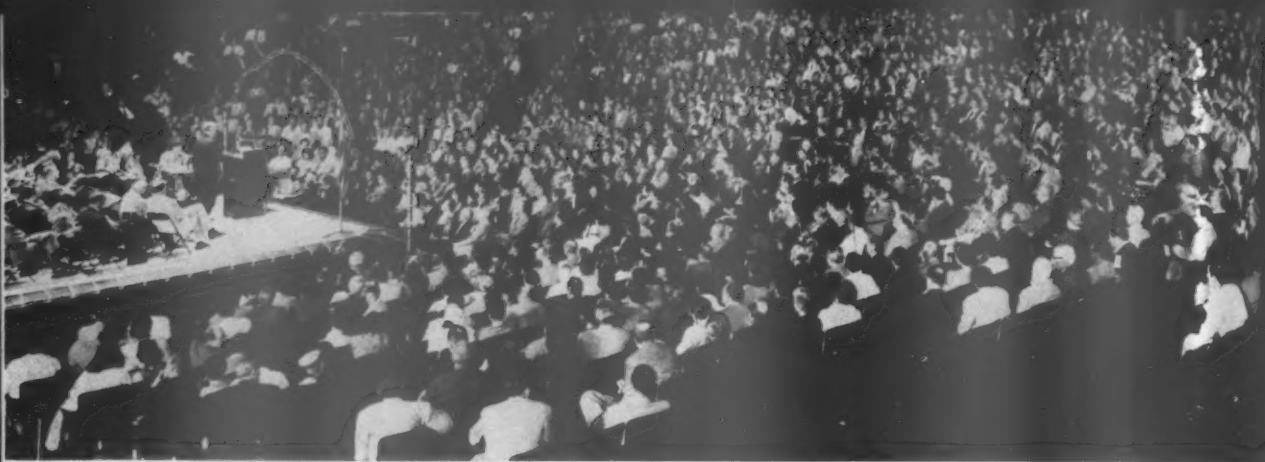
Department Secretary Joseph Lewis, the show's director, has predicted that the 1957 exposition will be the finest of them all. He and his aides promise that the thousands of visitors will not only learn a lot but will have a wonderful time, too. They emphasize that the Union Industries Show has a multitude of varied attractions for everyone—men, women and children.

There will be dozens of industrial exhibits of a most interesting nature. The exhibitors include nationally renowned enterprises which have been

operating for many years on a 100 per cent union basis and a large number of AFL-CIO international unions. In addition to the exhibits and the hundreds of valuable "giveaways," the Union Industries Show will offer visitors music and entertainment aplenty each day.

Every trade unionist who can possibly manage to get to Kansas City this month should certainly do so. The show will unquestionably be one of the memorable events of the year. Tell your friends and neighbors about it. The AFL-CIO exposition dramatizes the vital role of organized labor in a prosperous, strong America and it demonstrates in a most effective way the importance and the value of sound labor-management relations.

The officers and staff of the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the AFL-CIO hope to see you and your family and many of your friends and neighbors at the big show. Every unionist in the Midwest ought to try to drop in.



Actors turn out for a union meeting. 'The Guild's members know the importance of attending meetings.

The Union Is Our Protection

Movie Actors Know the Score

By **WALTER PIDGEON**
President, Screen Actors Guild

HAVE you seen a movie recently?

Not a movie on a home television screen but one of the many great new motion picture masterpieces now playing on large screens in theaters throughout our land?

If you haven't, you're cheating yourself and your family of some of the finest entertainment experience that money can buy. You're also withholding patronage from union craftsmen and artists who merit and need your support, for when you attend a movie theater, you're helping union workmen.

As the president of the AFL-CIO Screen Actors Guild, one of my jobs is to tell the story of the Guild and the motion picture industry to all of organized labor and to get more union men and women into the habit of going to the movie theaters. While television is a grand new medium, it cannot and should not supplant the theater.

Some Americans may wonder why movie actors need a union, "guild" being just another word for "union."

Guild officers confer at the union's offices in Hollywood. From the left, Dana Andrews, Walter Pidgeon, John Dales.



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I can assure them that the screen actors know what their union means to them. We are pretty proud of the progress that we have made since 1933 when our union was formed.

In those days before we won our first collective bargaining contract, half of the actors working in pictures earned less than \$2000 a year gross, before deduction of agents' fees. Less than 10 per cent earned as much as \$5000 gross. And agents' fees took quite a hunk of an actor's salary.

It was common practice in the studios for actors to have to work late every Saturday night and often into the early hours of Sunday morning, thus destroying the actor's day of rest. When a legal holiday occurred in midweek, the actor often would have to work the following Sunday to make up for the holiday.

Meal periods came at the producer's convenience, not necessarily to meet the human needs of the actor.

There was seldom any twelve-hour rest period in between calls, actors sometimes working on a set as late as 2 or 3 A.M. and then being ordered to report back at 8 A.M. the same day.

Actors were not paid for overtime, and there was no premium pay for work on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays or for night work.

These are just a few of the many bad working conditions existing before the movie actors formed their union.

IN March of 1933 the producers forced actors under contract to take a 50 per cent pay cut and all freelance actors to take a 20 per cent pay cut. This despite the fact that actors as a group received less than two cents of each dollar taken in at the boxoffice.

In those days the screen actors had no union to turn to—so they took the cut. But they immediately started to form a union, the Screen Actors Guild.

Six actors—Ralph Morgan, Grant Mitchell, Berton Churchill, Charles Miller, Kenneth Thomson and Alden Gay Thomson—met and decided to form a self-governing union organization of all motion picture actors to gain fair economic conditions. The first organizing meeting of the Guild was held July 12, 1933, and the following actors became the union's first members: Alan Mowbray, Morgan Wallace, Leon Ames, Bradley Page, Billy Sullivan, Richard Tucker, Regi-



Kim Novak is just one of scores of stars who are members of Actors Guild.



At union headquarters, William Lundigan does a little committee work.



When you belong to a union you usually have a union card. Dan Duryea shows his to Charles Drubin of Guild staff.



Union meeting brings together Ronald Reagan, a former president; Executive Secretary Dales, President Pidgeon and Nancy Davis.



In picture taken at union's Sunset Boulevard offices after a board meeting are Leon Ames, Rosemary De Camp, Pat Somerset.

nald Mason, Tyler Brooke, Kenneth Thomson, Alden Gay Thomson, James Gleason, Ralph Morgan, Lucille Gleason, Ivan Simpson, Claude King, Boris Karloff, Arthur Vinton, Clay Clement, Charles Starrett, C. Aubrey Smith and Willard Robertson.

Among others who joined the un-

ion in its first months were such famous names as Groucho Marx, James Cagney, Ralph Bellamy, George Raft, Eddie Cantor, Chester Morris, Robert Montgomery, Fredric March, Adolphe Menjou, Edward Arnold, Noel Madison, Lyle Talbot, Gary Cooper, Spencer Tracy, Miriam Hopkins, Otto Kruger and Paul Muni.

Then started a four-year struggle for union recognition and a union shop contract, for without a contract with the producers there could be no union security and little if any improvement in economic conditions.

In 1935 the Guild gained economic bargaining strength by affiliating with the American Federation of Labor, joining other organizations of players in the AFL international, the Associated Actors and Artists of America, popularly known as "the Four A's."

Just twenty years ago, on May 9, 1937, the Screen Actors Guild won recognition from the employers and a union shop contract. More than 98 per cent of the film stars had agreed to support a strike if necessary to get the contract.

In the first contract the greatest gains were obtained for the extra players and low-salaried bit players. Minimum rates were set and procedures established for settlement of Guild-producer disputes by conciliation and arbitration. An actor's right to a twelve-hour rest period between calls was established and effective penalties were set for violation of this rule.

Subsequent contracts have brought many other benefits for Guild members, including tripled minimum rates for all classes of actors, fair compensation for overtime, Sunday and holiday work, premium pay for night work, pay for wardrobe fittings and tests, and compensation for travel time.

WITH the advent of television, the Guild negotiated a contract setting minimum wages and working conditions in the field of television motion pictures and establishing the new principle under which actors are compensated separately, in addition to their original compensation, for reruns of television entertainment films. In about three years the Guild has collected and distributed to its members in the neighborhood of two million dollars in television residual payments.

The Guild also has negotiated a television filmed commercial contract that provides minimum fees and working conditions and sets forth a detailed schedule of fees for the reuse of such commercials, the payments continuing as long as the commercials are on the air.

It might be noted here that while

the quality of the movies you see in your theaters has improved tremendously in recent years, the number of such pictures made in this country has decreased greatly. Were it not for the employment provided by television entertainment films and filmed TV commercials, there would exist a serious depression for motion picture actors.

Complicating this situation greatly are those hundreds of old movies cluttering up the television airwaves. Not only do these old movies tend to keep some persons away from theaters, thus reducing employment of union technicians and artists, but they also take up television time that otherwise might be available for new television programs which would offer more jobs.

Unfortunately, since long before the Screen Actors Guild came into existence, actors in their personal employment contracts signed away their television rights, and it was not until 1948 that the Guild was able to negotiate in its collective bargaining agreement a clause which alleviates the situation a little.

Known as the "stopgap" clause, this in effect provides that as to those theatrical movies made since August 1, 1948, the producers have the right to sell them to television but must first make a deal with the Guild for additional compensation for the ac-



Here are three more actors who are proud to belong to a union. From the left, they are Paul Harvey, Ann Doran and David Brian.

A Guild financial report is studied by Hillary Brooke, a board member, and George Chandler, the treasurer.



Patricia Morison and President Pidgeon discuss a problem of the movie industry in a conference at Guild headquarters.





Board members discuss negotiations. In usual order, they are Philip Ober, William Walker, Georgia Stark, James Lydon, John Howard and John Litel.

tors. If the producer fails to make such an arrangement, the Guild has the legal right to withhold the services of its members from this employer in the future.

I am often asked just how the Screen Actors Guild operates, for, after all, many of our 13,000 members are highly individualistic and, in some cases, temperamental. Before I answer the question, I must observe that no union in our country has a more loyal membership than the SAG.

The actors themselves govern the Guild through an elected board of directors of thirty-nine actors and an executive committee consisting of the six elected officers of the Guild. One-third of the board and all the officers are elected annually, the board members for three-year terms, the officers for one year.

All classes of actors are repre-

sented on the board—bit players, stunt men, singers, character actors, announcers, stars, etc. Those presently serving are first vice-president, Leon Ames; second vice-president, Dana Andrews; third vice-president, Howard Keel; board members, Sally Blane, Ward Bond, Hillary Brooke, James Cagney, Macdonald Carey, Chick Chandler, Fred Clark, Jackie Cooper, Wendell Corey, Tony Curtis, Nancy Davis, Rosemary De Camp, Ann Doran, Frank Faylen, John Howard, John Hubbard, Ruth Hussey, John Litel, John Lund, Jimmy Lydon, Philo McCollough, Frank Marlowe, Juanita Moore, Jack Mower, Eva Novak, Donald O'Connor, Gilbert Perkins, Dorothy Phillips, Ronald Reagan, John Russell, Verne Smith, George Sowards, Georgia Stark, Bert Stevens, Craig Stevens, William Walker, Bill Williams.

The officers and the board meet regularly every other Monday night, and more often when occasion demands, in the board room at the Guild's national headquarters building in Hollywood. They receive no remuneration for attending sessions.

The board sets the policies for the Guild's professional executives and staff to execute. The board participates in and supervises all contract negotiations and, in general, directs the immense operations and work of the Guild. Major policy decisions are submitted to the entire membership in secret mail referendums.

Like all well-run organizations, the Screen Actors Guild operates under

a set of by-laws and rules, adopted by the membership, which set forth the duties of the officers and the board, the method of election and recall of elective officials, the rights and obligations of the members—in general, a constitutional framework for the operation of the Guild. A copy of these by-laws and rules is handed each new member.

GENERAL membership meetings are held in Hollywood and New York in the fall of each year and special meetings are called whenever the occasion arises.

To keep the membership constantly informed of board decisions and general Guild activities, a printed "Intelligence Report" is mailed to all members about once a month. Special pamphlets and booklets are issued from time to time.

The Guild executive staff is appointed by the board of directors and is headed by the national executive secretary, John L. Dales. Assisting Mr. Dales in executive capacities are four business representatives: Kenneth Thomson, whose responsibilities include administration of the television division; Pat Somerset, membership department and the Guild's delegate to the councils of organized labor; Buck Harris, public relations division, research and publications; Chester L. Migden, agency and television division. William Berger is the Guild's general legal counsel.

A staff of field representatives and competent secretarial, clerical and



Buck Harris handles public relations and publications duties.

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accounting personnel handle the great volume of business that flows through the Guild's Hollywood offices daily.

The largest branch of the Guild outside of the headquarters city of Hollywood is in New York, where we have about 2,000 members. These members elect their own Council of twenty-seven actors and actresses and seven officers. The executive secretary of the New York branch is

Harold M. Hoffman. Mrs. Florence Marston is regional director of the East and Midwest activities of the Guild which also has branches in Chicago, Boston, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh and San Francisco.

Motion picture actors have come a long way since those dark days of 1933 when the Screen Actors Guild was formed. We expect to continue

to progress with the AFL-CIO, especially if we can convince more of our fellow trade unionists that it's the brotherly thing to take the family to see a good motion picture in the theater frequently — pictures like "The King and I," "Giant," "The Ten Commandments," "Around the World in Eighty Days," "Friendly Persuasion" and many more memorable theater movies coming your way.

Locals and Their Members

By **GEORGE E. FAIRCHILD**

*Secretary-Treasurer, Building Service
Employees International Union*

THE thousands of local unions spread over the length and breadth of the land are the "grass roots" of the labor movement. It might be well, therefore, to examine the basic membership structure of the average local union.

We think it fairly accurate to say that an average local union consists, membership-wise, of three separate and distinct groups.

At one end of the local union structure can be found those members who are more sympathetic to the employer than to the union and who belong to the union either because they find it expedient to belong or because they are required to belong, depending upon individual circumstances and conditions. In any event the members of any local union who are in this category are, fortunately, few in number and are about as useful to a local union as sand in the crankcase of the modern gasoline engine.

At the other end of the local union's structure can be found the real "dyed in the wool" trade unionists. In most cases they are members who fought and sacrificed to build the local and who would almost die before they would see the results of their untiring efforts destroyed. These are the members who stand first, last and always in the union's defense. They can always be relied upon to build, strengthen and preserve the local union against all who would seek to destroy it.



GEORGE E. FAIRCHILD

Between these two extremes can be found the majority of the membership of any local union. This is a divergent group whose trade union thinking is not standard but consists of many philosophies.

Here can be found the "I'm from Missouri" type of trade unionists who are, in general, sympathetic to the union, its aims, principles and functions, but who are not real, active supporters and must at all times be shown.

Here, also, can be found the "jack-

pot" trade unionist. He is so called because each time he pays his union dues he feels that he should automatically receive either a salary raise or some other benefit as his just due.

Here, too, can be found the management-minded opportunist, who is either hoping for a promotion to some supervisory job or who hopes for management's blessing in some other form. This type of unionist always plays both ends against the middle, and, at best, is of divided loyalty.

Here, too, can be found those who make up the bulk of local union members. These are members who through experience have learned the value of their union and, although not active in a trade union sense, can always be relied upon for support and assistance when the chips are down.

From this brief survey it should be easy to understand that the perpetuation of a local union is no simple task. It is a matter of record that the mortality rate is high.

For a local union to prosper it must have strong rank-and-file support. Such support can be secured only through the medium of the local union rendering service to its membership and performing at all times for the benefit of the membership.

Forever moving forward, militant, alert and progressive, a local union will prosper. If it stands still and remains dormant, a local union will die. For to stand still is to retreat backward into oblivion.

The Legislation We Seek

By RICHARD J. GRAY

President, Building and Construction Trades Department



RICHARD J. GRAY

THE Building and Construction Trades Department has announced a definite national legislative program for 1957. While building tradesmen look to Congress to pass legislation which will be of help to all citizens, they are especially interested, naturally enough, in measures which affect them directly as building tradesmen. The Department's legislative program embraces those proposals that are of special concern to the members of our building trades unions.

The Department's program, as adopted by our Executive Council, is shown in the box on the next page. Each aspect of that program is now before Congress among the various bills introduced. The legislative conference of the building trades, held in Washington in March, gave great impetus to the enactment of our proposals. The 2,500 delegates visited with their Senators and Representatives to explain the purposes and objectives. We have every hope that, with additional effort, we will prevail upon Congress to enact a substantial part of our legislative program.

I suppose it is unnecessary in this day to discourse at length on why building tradesmen feel the necessity for being deeply concerned with legislation. However, I would like to sum up, in a very general way, the events which have presented building

tradesmen with this necessity for legislative activity.

In the past the opponents of organized labor relied principally on their vast economic strength to block labor's rightful aspirations. The strength of labor's opponents was so great that they had little need for government power, except for injunctions or court orders.

But as organized labor grew and became stronger, these opponents were faced with a more nearly equal force across the bargaining table. It was then that these hostile employer groups turned to the legislative halls to block and suppress labor's aspirations. The Taft-Hartley Act and the so-called "right to work" laws are testimony to their success in this maneuver.

Labor has had to turn to those same legislative halls to secure protection against biased and unfair laws. Building tradesmen, like all other working people, have a definite stake in seeing to it that legislation fair to their interests is on the statute books. And if sufficient time and effort are turned toward the legislative field, much can be achieved. I shall give an example of what I mean.

One objective of the Building and Construction Trades Department for the past two years was to secure the inclusion of a Davis-Bacon prevailing wage provision in the multi-billion-

dollar highway program. This provision would have the Secretary of Labor find out what the wages for "mechanics and laborers" were in a community where an interstate highway was to be built. He then would have these prevailing wage rates written into contracts for that part of the highway.

The office of the Secretary of Labor has a long history of making similar predetermination for federal construction programs, and with great success, so there was no question of novelty or delay involved.

THE purpose of this prevailing wage provision was not to raise wages. It was merely to protect the local wage level in the communities from being disrupted by unscrupulous contractors. These contractors would recruit lower-paid workers from out of the state or out of the country, thus undercutting fair employers and undermining fair labor conditions.

Our Davis-Bacon proposal for the highway program was nothing earthshaking, and our surveys indicated that members of Congress supported it overwhelmingly. In spite of this, Congress considered this prevailing wage section of the highway bill eighteen times before it was adopted.

A great deal of the credit for having this section of the highway bill made a part of the law must be

ascribed to the delegates to past legislative conferences of our Department, according to Secretary of Labor Mitchell. The delegates did yeoman work in informing the Senators and Representatives as to the position of the building trades on the need for this protective amendment. Prior to this, some members of Congress were totally unaware of the need for the Davis-Bacon protection. Some of the legislators were even unaware of the existence of the Davis-Bacon Act.

As can be seen from this one example, building tradesmen have no choice but to be concerned with legislation.

This year our Department's legislative goal is a four-point program. A few words about each proposal, to explain why building tradesmen want what they are asking for, will not be amiss.

High on the Department's legislative list is the securing of corrective amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act. It is now almost ten years since Taft-Hartley became law, and in spite of great amounts of testimony as to its unworkability, the act remains virtually unchanged.

In each session of Congress since 1947, the Building and Construction Trades Department has submitted testimony urging that the act be changed, repealed or amended. We have repeatedly pointed out the inequities of the law, particularly as it applies to building tradesmen and the construction industry.

There is no sense in raking up the past, so I will merely list the present proposals to amend the Taft-Hartley Act. These proposals are the results of many meetings by a joint labor-management committee under the chairmanship of Secretary of Labor Mitchell. Secretary Mitchell then sent the Administration's recommendations to Congress. They are contained in S. 1614, sponsored by Senators H. Alexander Smith, Irving Ives, Gordon Allott, Alexander Wiley, Frederick Payne and Clifford Case.

These amendments would:

▶ Permit "pre-hire" agreements in the building and construction industry by establishing procedures for certification of building trades unions without National Labor Relations elections.

▶ Legalize apprenticeship and training trust funds.

▶ Allow multi-employer bargaining.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM, 1957

1. To secure corrective amendments of Taft-Hartley Act.
2. To modernize the Davis-Bacon Act.
3. To obtain a prevailing wage provision in the school construction program.
4. To obtain enactment of a comprehensive housing program.

These changes would go a long way toward removing some of the legal blocks to long-standing and honored practices in the building industry. These amendments would have a stabilizing influence on labor-management relations in the industry. We feel certain that all segments of organized labor can join in support of these amendments.

THE building trades are supporting legislation aimed at modernizing the Davis-Bacon Act. This law requires that contractors working on direct federal construction pay the prevailing local wage rate as predetermined by the Secretary of Labor. The basic purpose of the act is that public money should not be used to undermine local labor conditions. At the time of its passage in 1931, and in 1935 when it was amended, the act fulfilled this purpose.

However, two developments of recent years have made the Davis-Bacon Act not truly protective.

One of these developments has been

the emergence of welfare and retirement programs, travel time, overtime and other so-called fringe benefits. The U.S. Department of Labor reports that more than 65 per cent of union construction workers are now covered by health and welfare plans. The other development that has made Davis-Bacon not truly protective has been the trend toward *indirect* federal spending on construction.

Back in the Thirties almost all federal spending on construction was *direct* spending. Such programs automatically carried the protective features of the Davis-Bacon Act. Today most of the federal spending on construction is in the form of grants or guarantees, and this construction is not covered by the Davis-Bacon Act unless specifically noted in the enabling legislation.

The remedy we propose is a simple one. We say that all construction financed with federal money, directly or indirectly, should be covered by the Davis-Bacon prevailing wage principle. In (Continued on Page 31)



The workers who do America's building look to Congress to amend the Taft-Hartley Act and pass other legislation which is needed.

WE ARE THE BREWERY WORKERS

By KARL F. FELLER

*President, International Union of United Brewery,
Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers*



KARL F. FELLER

THE International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers, AFL-CIO, started out simply as the "National Union of the Brewers of the United States."

That was on August 29, 1886, when ten delegates, representing local unions of organized brewers in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit and Newark and, by proxy, those in Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis, met in convention at Baltimore. They formed the first national labor organization of brewers which did not include other production employees. These ten delegates represented, all told, about 4,000 brewers.

The local unions they represented had been formed during the prior seven years, the oldest being the Cincinnati local. This local had been formed in 1879, after previous at-

tempts in 1877 and again in 1878 had failed. The New York local, the largest of all, dated back to 1881, and those in the other cities had all been organized since that year.

Actually, the idea of a union of skilled brewers had taken root years before. In Cincinnati, for example, the first attempt at organization had taken place in 1852, and similar activities took place at about the same time in Buffalo.

In 1860, just prior to the Civil War, the brewers in New York City also formed an association, but this, like the ones in Cincinnati and Buffalo, was more on the order of a mutual aid society than a trade union.

Such associations or societies were formed in other cities as well during this period, and though their purpose was not along the lines of trade unionism as such, there can be no

doubt that they were the roots from which the local unions in those cities grew in later years.

When the American Federation of Labor was formed at Columbus, Ohio, on December 8, 1886, as the direct successor to the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, the National Union of the Brewers of the United States immediately applied for affiliation.

It did not apply as a union of brewers only, but as a union of all the production and maintenance workers, supervisory and clerical excepted, in the brewing industry. The Brewery Workers thus became the first industrial union to be chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

There was good reason for this, for the young union, after coming out of its founding convention that day late in August, 1886, with an ambitious

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program for organizing all the unorganized brewers in the industry, immediately ran into a roadblock.

It found that when the brewers went out on strike to win employer recognition of their demands, the strike was doomed to failure from the start. For, unlike other industries, where a strike of even a few highly skilled workers could shut down a plant completely, a strike of even the most highly skilled brewers did not have much effect.

The brewers were all small operations in those days, and the brewery owner and the brewmaster, with the aid of the other workers in the plant, could do a fairly good job of keeping up production, even if at a reduced level. And the fact that the unorganized maltsters, coopers, drivers, engineers and firemen, and other brewery workmen stayed on the job didn't help the brewers either.

To win the strike, the entire brewery had to be shut down, and in order to accomplish this all of the workers in the brewery, inside and out, from the cellar to the roof, had to be organized. So the national union, within a few months after its founding convention, decided that it was not enough to organize the brewers only, that all of the other workers had to be organized as well, and it accordingly proceeded to organize on that basis from then on.

Although its name was not formally

changed to cover this expansion of its jurisdiction until the second convention, in September, 1887, when it became the "National Union of United Brewery Workmen of the United States," it was already functioning as an industrial union when it applied for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. When it received its certificate of affiliation on March 4, 1887, its industrial union character was fully recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

The union had a rough road to travel in its early years, as did all unions in that formative period of the American labor movement. Even before it was a year old the brewery owners, through their national association, set out on a union-busting campaign with wholesale firings of the union's members, city wide lock-outs and other methods since grown familiar to all unions.

This campaign against the union continued for many years in some cities, notably New York, where it was not called off until 1902. Despite the setbacks suffered during these years, the union made slow but steady progress.

By the year 1900 its membership had increased to 20,000, and there were 202 local unions and branches in all sections of the U.S. By 1910 the membership had grown to over 50,000 in upwards of 300 locals and branches. The national union had

been transformed into an international union with the establishment of local unions in Canada, the first of these dating back to 1902.

Between 1910 and 1915 the membership was to grow to over 60,000, a fairly big union for those times. It had over 500 local unions and branches throughout the United States and Canada. But then it began to meet with adversity.

The year 1910 saw the beginning of another struggle for the union as bad, if not worse, than the one with the brewery owners twenty years before. This had been shaping up for some years past, but only now was beginning to make its effects really known. We're speaking of the union's war against prohibition.

By 1910 the prohibition movement had spread through the South, closing down all breweries and distilleries as statewide prohibition took over. Large areas in other states also were dry under local option, especially in the Midwest and Southwest.

Each year thereafter was to see more and more territory come under prohibition law, reaching a grand finale in 1917 with the entry of the U.S. as a belligerent in World War I and the enactment of a national prohibition law as a "win the war" measure, which it was not.

Although the national law did not go into effect until January, 1920, long after (Continued on Page 30)

A German union delegation studying U.S. labor-management relations visits the Brewery Workers' headquarters.





Part of U.S. delegation at conference with Mexican unions. At the extreme left is R. J. Thomas, assistant to President George Meany of AFL-CIO. First man on other side of table is AFL-CIO Inter-American Representative Serafino Romualdi.

FRIENDSHIP MADE STRONGER

By MILTON PLUMB

A pioneering experiment in labor unity on the international level has come of age.

This was demonstrated at the fourth conference of the Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee, held in Nogales, Sonora, Mexico, April 2 to 4, under the auspices of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT). Both delegations hailed it as the most productive meeting which the international labor committee has held.

Perhaps the most succinct summary of the group's accomplishments was given in an address by Mexican Delegate Jose Maria Cruz, who declared:

"When we first met over four years ago in Mexico City, we set very ambitious projects for our joint committee. Now, we have gathered again to form new plans, set new goals, devise new solutions to our common problems. Time has passed since our first meeting and our record of accomplishments, through the cooperation of our North American friends and the unions of Mexico, is convincing proof that what we dreamed now has become a reality."

ORIT Secretary-General Luis Alberto Monge, who was elected general chairman of the conference, said that the joint committee, set up as an official affiliate of ORIT, has consistently followed "a path of friendship." The

committee, he said, can be proud "to show to the entire hemisphere the results of our work, which has been carried out according to the principles of liberty, social justice and fraternity."

Reports on the activities of the United States and Mexican sections since the previous meeting in San Diego in August, 1955, were submitted by the chairmen of the two delegations, Secretary-Treasurer Frank L. Noakes of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees for the U.S. group and Senator Jesus Yuren A., head of the Mexican delegation.



The speaker is Frank Noakes, chairman of U.S. delegation

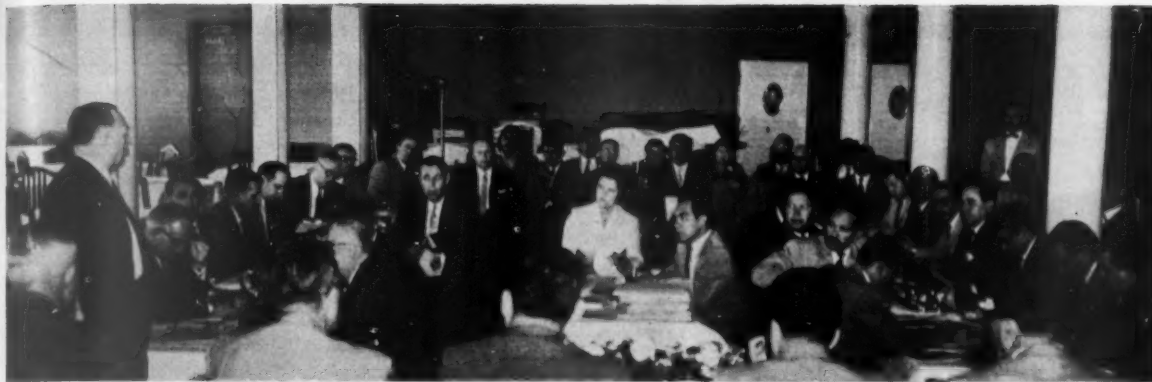
Concerning these reports, a resolution unanimously adopted declared:

"The accomplishments noted clearly indicated not only that each of our two sections, individually, is stronger than ever before, but also that we are even more unified in our common outlook and objectives.

"Although the reports were prepared many hundreds of miles apart, and with no consultation whatever concerning their contents, the identity of interest which the two documents reveal is a striking and irrefutable proof that the bonds of brotherhood and friendship which unite the workers of our two countries have been forged out of our dedication to the same democratic ideals of freedom, justice and equality for the workers of all nations.

"They prove, further, that our unity is not merely one of agreement of minds alone. Our unity is much greater and more indestructible, for it is a unity stemming from the very center of our hearts."

The bilingual conference, however, did much more than merely look to the past and the impressive gains U.S. and Mexican unions have scored, particularly in their efforts to improve the lot of Mexican contract workers. It hammered out a series of resolutions, setting new objectives for still greater cooperation between U.S.



Nogales meeting of the Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee is addressed by R. J. Thomas.

and Mexican unions in their joint effort to raise the living standards of the workers of both nations.

New approaches to old problems not yet fully solved were devised, including a demand for the substitution of a minimum wage "in no case lower than the national minimum wage," for the present provision that Mexican workers shall not be paid less than the "prevailing wage."

This suggestion, originally made at the conference by the Mexican delegates, was given the complete and unqualified endorsement of the U.S. group. Chairman Noakes, responding to Senator Yuren, pledged that the U.S. trade unions fully supported this aim and would do everything possible to bring about its attainment as soon as possible.

"Our endeavors here are mutual,"

Mr. Noakes declared, "and while we of the U.S. movement face a real battle to win this end, we know that with the splendid help of our Mexican brothers we will be able to continue to make progress toward our goal."

A similar pledge was made by R. J. Thomas, special assistant to AFL-CIO President George Meany, in an address summing up the accomplishments of the conference at a banquet in Tucson, Arizona, given by the U.S. section in honor of the Mexican delegates.

"We have pledged at this conference to do everything we can to extend the coverage of minimum wage legislation in the U.S. to farm employment," Mr. Thomas said.

"I want to assure my Mexican brothers that we in the U.S. section,

although disappointed at our lack of success on this issue so far, have no doubt about the ultimate outcome. We know that this goal will be attained—just as our Mexican brothers have already attained coverage of agricultural workers under the minimum wage laws of Mexico. Such coverage is the only just course, and the cause of justice and decency will always triumph in the end."

The Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee, chartered by ORIT in 1953, is composed of the Mexican section, which represents unions comprising 95 per cent of organized labor in Mexico, and the U.S. section, made up of representatives of the AFL-CIO, the United Mine Workers and railway brotherhoods affiliated with the Railway Labor Executives Association.

IMPORTANT POINTS TO REMEMBER

WHENEVER YOU SPEND MONEY

★ *Patronize Stores That Have Been Unionized* ★

★ *Buy Products That Carry Union Labels* ★

ASK TO SEE UNION LABELS, CARDS AND BUTTONS



Union members filled Annapolis chamber when the public hearing was held on the 'wreck' proposal.

We Win in Maryland

By FRED ROSS

THIS is a story that should give heart to working people everywhere. It is the story of how labor in Maryland defeated a so-called "right to work" bill and won the enactment of several beneficial laws in a year when the record of some Legislatures proved rather sour.

The scene of the final action was

the ancient State House at Annapolis, where George Washington resigned his commission as commander-in-chief in 1783, at the successful conclusion of the fight for American independence.

This year was not the first time that labor's enemies tried to pass a "right to work" law in the Free State. They

had made an earlier attempt to enslave labor in 1955, but the working people and their organizations fought back effectively, and in that year the "right to work" measure was defeated in both houses.

One year ago organized labor was put on notice that an employer group called the Associated Builders and

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Contractors of Maryland was prepared to battle for the enactment of a "right to work" law. The May, 1956, issue of the magazine published by this group carried a detailed story based on a speech by one William Sraver, Jr., against "compulsory unionism" which he had given at a luncheon in connection with a meeting of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Subsequent issues of the publication showed that its chosen front for the "right to work" bill would be something called "the People's Union," which bore no relation to a real trade union. In 1955 the anti-unionists had used as their instrument the "Maryland Right-to-Work Committee," which disbanded after its bill was defeated.

"The People's Union" had a Mrs. Dorothy Davis as its executive director, registered lobbyist and chairman of its "right to work" committee. The fund-raising activities of "the People's Union" reached a climax at a \$100-a-plate dinner in Baltimore last November.

The dinner was in tribute to the rabidly anti-union Kohler Company of Sheboygan, Wisconsin, where the United Auto Workers have been on strike for more than three years.

MARYLAND labor was already in action against the new "right to work" threat. Its work was being carried on through central labor bodies, and on the legislative front there was coordination through the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor and the Maryland State Industrial Union Council.

Labor in the Free State had been on guard against the "right to wreck" fraud since 1954. In that year Maryland wage-earners had been successful in helping to elect many members of the General Assembly sympathetic to working people and their legitimate legislative goals.

Central labor bodies in communities throughout the state and in the District of Columbia—where many thousands of Maryland residents do their daily work—got busy against the open shoppers' evil designs.

The Associated Builders and Contractors have their headquarters in Baltimore. The Baltimore Federation of Labor set up a high-gear campaign against the new threat to union security. This does not mean that central bodies elsewhere did not also



A lawmaker (left) is conferring here with two labor spokesmen. Union representatives were on the job throughout the session.

carry on effective campaigns against the "right to work" drive.

The Baltimore Federation of Labor sent out a letter to its affiliated local unions warning them of the activities of "the People's Union" and distributed 75,000 copies of a pamphlet against "right to work." It also made available to local unions two prints of the AFL-CIO Department of Education's film, "Injustice on Trial."

A rally was staged by the Baltimore Federation of Labor. Some 500 BFL delegates and shop stewards of AFL-CIO and independent unions attended. The principal speakers were Andrew J. Biemiller, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, and State Senator Armistead Booth of Virginia. A "wreck" law has been in effect in the Old Dominion since 1946.

Television was not neglected. The Baltimore Federation of Labor put on a half-hour program which included the film and a panel consisting of two clergymen and an employer.

Five days after the Maryland General Assembly convened in January, the State Federation of Labor and the State Industrial Union Council called a legislative conference at Annapolis. In attendance were representatives of AFL-CIO city central bodies, building trades councils and railroad brotherhoods. The co-chairmen were Harry Cohen and Culver Windsor, presidents of the State Federation and the State IUC, respectively. J. C. Turner, State Federation secretary, and James

E. Patterson, State IUC secretary-treasurer, served as co-secretaries.

The conference decided that a single labor legislative program would be laid before the General Assembly. Those present pledged that they would not trade beneficial legislation for defeat of the detested "wreck" bill.

The conference authorized a joint legislative committee to draft labor's program. Named to the committee were Presidents Windsor and Cohen, Secretaries Turner and Patterson, and William Culbertson, legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

The "right to work" bill sought by the foes of effective unionism was in-



Governor McKeldin is pledged to use veto on "wreck" bills.

troduced January 16. Labor instantly girded itself for a last-ditch battle against the vicious measure.

Weeks went by, and then the Senate Labor Committee scheduled a public hearing on the bill. When the important day arrived, hundreds of union members crowded the hearing chamber and overflowed into the hall.

Mrs. Davis of the so-called "People's Union" told the committee a strange tale. She averred that much of the money to support her mysterious organization had been slipped through a slot in her office door. According to Mrs. Davis, most of the contributors were union members who preferred anonymity.

THE lady was an evasive witness. Her refusal to cooperate nettled the committee chairman, Senator Anthony F. DiDomenico of Baltimore. "Mrs. Davis," he said, "we are sitting here as a part of the government of the State of Maryland, and you should answer questions."

She haughtily replied:

"I will answer questions that I feel are proper. The rest will go unanswered."

Another principal witness advocating shackles for labor was the same William Sraver mentioned near the beginning of this article. He testified that in 1950 he was threatened with loss of his job at a Baltimore bakery. He claimed that this threat was made when Local 622, Teamsters, tried to collect a \$30 initiation fee from him in a lump sum.

A photostatic copy of the local's records was submitted which showed that he had paid an initiation fee of \$25 in four installments. Sworn statements by the local's representatives also were presented to refute Sraver. When the representatives of Local 622, John P. McDonough, shop steward, and William Hundertmark, president and business agent, appeared to confront their accuser, Sraver had left the hearing chamber.

The wide representation of the witnesses against the bill demonstrated the unity of Maryland labor on this issue. The witnesses were introduced by State IUC Secretary Patterson. President Cohen of the State Federation of Labor had been in charge of the presentation of labor's case against "wreck" legislation in 1955.

In 1957, as two years earlier, fair play and good sense prevailed at An-

napolis. The "right to work" bill was permitted to die in committee.

However, the tribulations of Maryland's trade unionists were not ended. They had to bend their efforts to stopping an anti-picketing bill which had been forced out of the House Labor Committee by petition. This anti-labor measure was defeated by a vote of 80 to 20.

During the final days of the session five labor-favored bills were passed. Governor Theodore R. McKeldin has signed four of the measures and was expected to sign the fifth. One new law increases weekly unemployment compensation benefits and places Maryland among the states which pay the highest allowances.

Other bills passed by the Maryland Legislature and approved by the Governor provide that a person 65 years of age or older will not have to seek work to draw unemployment compensation and that the state's present Em-

ployment Security Board will be replaced by an executive director and a separate board of appeals. The latter is a move to speed up settlement of disputed unemployment compensation cases.

Under another new law the Workmen's Compensation Board will be put on a full-time basis. This change should cut down the large number of cases awaiting decision.

Maryland labor's political action, its determination not to trade off beneficial bills for the defeat of "right to work" and its unity on the legislative front and at the grass-roots level have paid off handsomely. Undoubtedly there will be other "right to work" threats in the future—but the trade unionists of the Free State feel confident that they will be able to meet and overcome those threats when they arise. Meanwhile, it is gratifying, from labor's standpoint, that the Free State remains really free.

Unions Must Be Secure

(Continued from Page 9)

more anti-union ammunition than those—words, unfortunately, that are still the law of the land.

Union-busting lawyers like to call their manipulations of Section 14 (b) an attempt to create a "right to work." What they really have in mind is to create for their clients the "right to exploit."

If we carry the "right to exploit" principle to a conclusion, we reach a point where union representation—that is, united effort—is destroyed. For this "right to exploit" clause is a built-in invitation for irresponsible persons to accept benefits of union bargaining without taking any of the responsibility.

To get fair agreements with employers, unions must be secure in their rights. Without this most important security, unions cannot function.

I have good reason to believe that many of the wiser heads of industry are far from satisfied with the union-busting efforts being made in many state legislatures. For astute management relies on its knowledge of economic history and industrial development in making its decisions for future development.

Most of these men realize that if they scuttle the rights of unions—if

they destroy the bargaining powers of unions—they are retracing history, right back into the dark ages before the Industrial Revolution.

They recognize this retracing for what it can mean. It can mean, if the cycle were ever to come full turn, the restoration of feudalism. A few men would ultimately, and once again, control all wealth. Technological brains would have none of the intricate outlets that exist today. Mass markets and mass production would wither away.

I am not alone in my antagonism for this union-busting tactic. President Eisenhower's Secretary of Labor, James Mitchell, has taken a stand in opposition to such legislation.

But Mr. Mitchell could go a lot further. He could exert a strong influence—along with the President—in convincing Congress of this inherent danger of Section 14 (b). He could set the stage for its repeal. Until that happens, organized attempts at union destruction will continue.

And the tremendous industrial progress we have known in the past half-century—which is demonstrably linked to the progress of the labor movement—might very well be stymied.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Community service and health problems and the procedure for starting labor health centers were discussed at a series of one-day institutes in Pennsylvania attended by 750 union officers and members. The sessions, held at Harrisburg, Lancaster, Reading, Pottsville, Lock Haven and Beaver Falls, were sponsored by the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Pennsylvania State University and the respective central labor unions.

►An independent union at the Maddox Table Company, Jamestown, N. Y., has ended its existence. It has been succeeded by Local 44 of the United Furniture Workers of America, which was chartered after all of the former union's members went on record for affiliation with the AFL-CIO international union.

►The first contract negotiated by Local 436, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, with Foodtown of Fairfield, Ala., features wage increases as high as \$10 a week and company-paid medical care and life insurance. Fairfield is a suburb of Birmingham.

►Employees of the Michigan Alkali Division of the Wyandotte Chemicals Corporation have chosen the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers as their collective bargaining agent. They rejected District 50 of the United Mine Workers in an NLRB election.

►Local 9 of the Office Employees International Union, Milwaukee, has won bargaining rights at the Blue Cross-Blue Shield service in a Wisconsin Employment Relations Board election. The vote was 120 to 87.

►The National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians has boosted the top wage scale from \$490 to \$540 a month at Station KEYT-TV in Santa Barbara, Calif.

►Members of Local 307 of the United Garment Workers, Chicago, recently worked on an order for a "harem-rug" for Aga Khan. The very unusual item bears the union label.



AFL-CIO Organizing Director John Livingston (left) huddles on organizing prospects with Walter Mitchell (center), president of the Chemical Workers, and O. A. (Jack) Knight, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

►The Inter-Union Soap Council has won average wage increases of slightly more than 11 cents an hour and improved shift differentials, funeral leave, company-paid life insurance and disability coverage in its first national negotiations with Lever Brothers. All company plants are covered in two separate pacts—one with Locals 51, 116, 217, 244 and 452 of the International Chemical Workers and the other with Local 7-336 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

►A package estimated at 31 cents an hour has been won by Local 247, International Union of Electrical Workers, after a strike at the Union Hardware plant, Torrington, Conn.

►Detroit Local 1 of the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers has won an election at the Fitzgerald Plating Company. This is the third shop gained by the local in a year.

►An overwhelming strike vote has won Local 270, International Union of Electrical Workers, a \$4,000,000 package of wage increases and fringe gains over three years at CBS-Hytron plants at Lowell, Danvers, Salem and Newburyport, Mass. Benefiting from the local's victory will be more than 3,000 members.

►Jules Pagano, education director of the Communications Workers, recently told a University of Minnesota labor education conference: "Automation is like expecting a new baby. You know it's going to be wonderful, but you also know you have to learn how to prepare the formula."

►By a vote of 106 to 18, the United Auto Workers won a National Labor Relations Board election at the Wilson Refrigeration Company, Smyrna, Del. The victory came after ten years, during which the union lost two elections and the plant burned down.

We Are the Brewery Workers

(Continued from Page 23)

the war had ended, almost every state which had not previously done so adopted prohibition during or immediately following the war. So national prohibition was to all effects already in force before 1920.

The Brewery Workers had, of course, waged as effective a battle as they could, both prior to and since 1910, to halt the march of prohibition in the states. When the threat of national prohibition loomed, the union threw its every resource into the fight—all without avail.

The American Federation of Labor and a number of other international unions allied themselves with our union in the fight, first to prevent, if possible, enactment of the national prohibition law. During the long and eventually successful campaign, from 1920 to 1933, they sought modification and then repeal of that law.

Prohibition cost the union much, not only in the money spent in fighting it, but in the reduction of its membership as the result of the breweries and distilleries closing down. However, the union never ceased to function all through the long prohibition era, but turned its organizing efforts toward other unorganized industries over which it had been granted jurisdiction.

Before prohibition the union had organized the brewing industry 100 per cent, with the exception of some small family-operated plants. It now set out to do the same thing in the soft drink industry, which its jurisdiction had covered for some years before prohibition and where it had made some headway in organizing in the larger cities.

Attention also was turned to the yeast industry. Some of the largest breweries had converted to the manufacture of yeast as one means of staying in business. After organizing them in short order, the union went out and organized the big Fleischmann yeast plants, the largest in the country, and eventually the balance of the industry.

Many breweries had changed to the manufacture of ice, soft drinks, cereal beverages and other cereal products, and the union saw to it that these were union-made products, the same as beer had been before prohibi-

tion. Finally, jurisdiction over the flour and grain milling industry was granted the union and here too a long and arduous organizing drive was launched.

It was at this period of its history that the union's name was lengthened to the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers of America, to cover its various jurisdictions, and which it was to remain until the "distillery" jurisdiction was added some years later.

All in all, the Brewery Workers were far from being dormant or inactive during the years the dark prohibition clouds hun over us, but continued to function as a militant and very active part of the American labor movement.

ONE of the first things the late revered President Franklin D. Roosevelt did after his inauguration on March 4, 1933, was to ask Congress to modify the national prohibition law to permit the manufacture and sale of beer. So quickly did Congress respond to this request that beer was relegalized on April 7, 1933, only a little over a month later, and the breweries were back in business again.

It took a little longer to bring back wine and distilled spirits, as this required a constitutional amendment which had to be ratified by two-thirds of the states, but by December 6, 1933, this too had been accomplished.

The relegalization of the brewing industry saw the Brewery Workers ready to reorganize the industry, and as fast as the breweries reopened, union contracts were signed.

Unfortunately, however, the union was not destined to be allowed to proceed in peace with this undertaking. Only a few weeks after the breweries started reopening in April, 1933, three other AFL unions—the Teamsters, the Operating Engineers, and the Firemen and Oilers—laid claim to the brewery drivers, engineers and firemen, respectively. These unions demanded that the AFL Executive Council order the Brewery Workers to turn these members over to them.

The Brewery Workers, of course, protested this, pointing out that their

certificate of affiliation with the AFL recognized the union's complete jurisdiction over all workers in the brewery, inside and out.

Since the Brewery Workers are proud to be a part of what we sincerely believe and hope will become a united labor movement, it would serve no useful purpose to dwell on the merits of this issue. Suffice it to say that the 1941 convention acceded to a Teamsters' demand that the Brewery Workers be suspended.

Thus, after fifty-four years, the Brewery Workers found themselves no longer an affiliate of the AFL, but occupying the position of an "independent union," a status it was to retain for five years until, in July, 1946, we affiliated with the CIO.

IN affiliating with the CIO the membership of the union was increased by the transfer to it of a number of directly affiliated distillery, cigar and tobacco workers locals, as well as a group of flour and grain millers and food processing locals.

On the other hand, it suffered some loss of its membership in the brewing industry when the leaders of the Teamsters stepped up their drive for the brewery drivers by raiding the brewers, bottlers, mechanical department employees and all other brewery workers.

As the result of this and the previous Teamsters' raids that had taken place from the time the brewery drivers issue was first raised in 1933, the Brewery Workers—from 1933 up until the merger of the AFL and the CIO in December, 1955—suffered the loss of many members in the industry.

Members were taken from the union in Washington, Oregon, California and Arizona, in New York City and some upstate New York areas. There was a partial loss of such membership in Chicago, Cleveland, St. Paul, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Buffalo and a number of other places. Even some of the union's soft drink membership were raided during the process of taking over the brewery workers.

Since the merger of the AFL and the CIO there have been five further instances of such tampering with the Brewery Workers' membership, all of which have been repelled or settled. However, charges filed by the Brewery Workers under the no-raiding

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provisions of the AFL-CIO constitution are still pending.

The same problems relating to industry that many unions are faced with today also confront the Brewery Workers. Automation is one of the most pressing of these, especially in the brewing industry, where the rapid and continuous development of automatic equipment and machinery has so stepped up production that only a small percentage of the former working force is now needed.

The trend toward multiple-plant operations in the brewing industry, under which the big national shipping breweries are building or acquiring additional plants in the principal market areas, also poses a problem. Many of the smaller breweries are being forced to quit business because of monopoly competition, costing the jobs of the union's members in these operations.

These members can rarely find new jobs in the industry, because of the overall reduction of manpower, and so become permanently displaced as far as the industry is concerned.

To give some idea of the trend toward the operation of fewer breweries—in 1936 there were 711 plants, in 1946 there were 465, and in 1956 there were only 269. However, overall production in the industry has increased.

(The trend toward multiple-plant operation is shown by the fact that the 269 plants in operation in 1956 were owned by 219 companies, and that seventeen companies were operating two or more plants, more than double the number in 1946.)

The Brewery Workers are studying plans for meeting the growing problems of automation and monopoly as they continue to arise. Uppermost, in this respect, is the pension program which dates back ten years or more and is already benefiting thousands of older members who were able to retire with dignity as automation took over their jobs.

For the younger members, for whom retirement is still far in the future, the union is working out a system of supplementary unemployment benefits as well as severance pay plans. And always, of course, the union agreements are written with a view toward provisions safeguarding the members from displacement during the life of the contracts.

The union's future is tied to the

present organizing program which the international union and its five regional offices in the United States and Canada are carrying forward in every industry covered by its jurisdiction.

Since the AFL-CIO merger convention sincere and tireless efforts have been made to reach understandings and agreements with other international unions. These moves are based on the cooperative organizing of the unorganized workers in those industries in which our mutual interests

lie, as well as the exchange of contract data and other information on industries in which we hold parallel jurisdiction with other labor organizations.

The Brewery Workers accept without reservation their obligations under the basic principle of the AFL-CIO merger, that of "organizing the unorganized," realizing that what is good for the American labor movement cannot be otherwise than good for the Brewery Workers Union.

The Legislation We Seek

(Continued from Page 21)

addition to broadening the act, the amendments would modernize the prevailing wage concept to include fringe benefits and would put overtime payments on a prevailing basis. The fourth part of these amendments would centralize authority in the office of the Secretary of Labor.

In a word, we want the Davis-Bacon Act modernized. We want its protective features brought up-to-date.

The school construction program is of great interest to the members of the building trades unions. A vital legislative objective of the Department is to secure a Davis-Bacon prevailing wage provision in the school construction program. The Department is giving wholehearted support to the position of the AFL-CIO in regard to the need for more classrooms and the need for federal assistance for school construction.

Building tradesmen have a profound interest and a very natural interest in how the money for school construction is spent. They are determined that their tax money to be spent on the building of new schools should not at the same time be used to lower wage standards. And so the building tradesmen insist, as

they did in the highway bill last year, that legislation for federally assisted school construction shall contain the protective Davis-Bacon prevailing wage provision.

It is appropriate to point out that, if the amendments to modernize the Davis-Bacon Act were now law, it would be unnecessary to be concerned about the inclusion of the prevailing wage protection in the school construction program. It would be included automatically.

The fourth objective of our Department's 1957 legislative program is the enactment of a comprehensive housing program. It is our hope that the many legislative recommendations now before Congress will be consolidated into an overall housing bill of substance. We hope that such a program will envisage construction of about 2,000,000 new homes each year.

Our Department supports the bold, comprehensive, forward-looking housing program which has been enunciated by the AFL-CIO. And we certainly hope that Congress can eliminate the cause for the drop in home building and the failure of our programs for public housing and urban renewal to make proper headway.

THE DOLLARS you earn each week are *union-earned* dollars. When you spend those dollars, be true to yourself. Make sure that the goods and services which you and your family buy merit the patronage of sincere trade unionists.

Tell your friends and neighbors to look for and insist upon the union label, union shop card and union service button whenever they plan to spend money. Since these emblems always indicate *better* values in products and services, they'll thank you for the tip.

WHAT THEY SAY

David Dubinsky, president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union—Clean unionism is nothing new to us. One of the conditions we made in re-joining the American Federation of Labor in 1940 was that it take a definite stand for



clean unionism on the basis of the anti-racketeering resolution that we introduced at that time. When we speak of clean unionism, we mean that we should not wait for the government to act. We say that it is primarily the job of organized labor itself to keep our movement clean.

I say every union president has at least the moral authority needed to keep his organization clean. How he will be praised by the members, by the community, if he exercises it! What a useful service this can be and what restrictive legislation we would then be spared!

If some unions continue to abuse their trust because they lack the moral force to block abuses, it becomes the job of government to regulate, to safeguard.

Hubert Humphrey, Senator from Minnesota—The greatest waste in government today is not the numbers of people employed in public service but the loss of trained personnel through heavy turnover caused by a breakdown in employee morale. The breakdown in morale is the result of inadequate compensation, abuse instead of respect and an unfair ceiling on opportunity by limiting top posts to political appointments instead of recognizing and making good use of the experience and training of career personnel.



Good government begins with a competent career service, properly compensated both financially and with

public respect. Good government is undermined and crippled to the extent such a career service is weakened by favoritism, political patronage or morale-destroying disrespect.

All the talk about good government, efficiency and economy is useless if we neglect the basic force needed to achieve these goals—the people who dedicate their lives to working in government.

Albert Whitehouse, director, AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department—



The original purpose of the Fair Labor Standards Act was to provide minimum standards of wages and hours for America's workers and to prevent undue exploitation. While the law has helped substantially, its loopholes are so large that almost as many American workers are today denied protection as are protected.

The hourly wage minimum established in the act is woefully inadequate for an American standard of life. Nevertheless, even this minimum standard of wages and overtime is still denied to millions of our citizens.

We have no interest in subjecting the genuine family store to the Fair Labor Standards Act, but by what magic can department and grocery store chains or theater chains be treated as a "Mom-'n'-Pop" corner grocery? And why should the gigantic corporation farms, with their hundreds and even thousands of employees, get away with putting on Farmer Jones' galluses every time somebody mentions the need for decent wages, hours and labor relations for their employees?

The mission of the Fair Labor Standards Act still remains unaccomplished. Contrary to popular opinion, it has not established a complete floor under wages. Instead, it has built a shelf supporting somewhat over half of our working population and casting a shadow over the remainder.

Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare—For



three years in a row, the United States Office of Education has asked the state school agencies to report on the number of pupils in excess of the normal capacity of the schools in use. For three years in a row, the figure has been about the same—two and a quarter million children above capacity.

Since there has been no appreciable reduction in this figure over three successive years, it is obvious that state and local efforts are falling far short of meeting classroom needs.

Little progress is being made in reducing this shortage. The enrollment increase next fall will require 45,000 new rooms, and additional replacement needs will require 14,000 to 20,000, for a total additional need of 59,000 to 65,000 new rooms. Thus, even if the estimated 69,000 new classrooms are completed, the backlog of shortage would be reduced by only 4,000 to 10,000 rooms.

At this rate the classroom shortage, far from being solved, would continue to handicap the education of many children for many years.

Clifford P. Case, Senator from New Jersey—Not so many years ago, collective bargaining was attacked as un-American. Bitter words and even murderous gunfire were aimed at its proponents. Yet patient, dedicated men and women



convinced the lawmakers of the land that collective bargaining was a principle clearly consistent with our democratic tradition.

The working out of agreements by peaceful discussion of management and labor is right in line with the principles of democratic government. Such legislation as the so-called "right to work" laws actually interferes with the agreements representing the best views of both labor and management. They are a step backward and represent an unwise interference in labor-management relations.